

IS PREPAREDNESS BLIND ALLEY AMONG PATHS TO PEACE?

Prof. Scott Nearing, Who Is Known for His Radical Opinions, Uncovers What He Believes to Be the Real Germs of War and Presents His Plan for Their Destruction

Whether or not one agrees with Prof. Scott Nearing, his opinions are interesting. In the following article he draws some lessons from the great war. They are, of course, the conclusions of a man who is opposed to preparedness and who believes that the present economic system is largely wrong, but they are worth reading if only because they present the subject from an unusual point of view. Prof. Nearing first came into national prominence when he was dropped from the speaking staff of the University of Pennsylvania on account of his advocacy of the so-called free speech issue in defiance of the faculty.

By PROF. SCOTT NEARING.

I.—Shall It Be War or Peace?

OTH in theory and in practice the American democracy has set its face toward liberty, justice and righteousness—ideals that are most easily reached by travelers who take the paths of peace. The point was well stated by the President in his speech at Pittsburgh (January 29, 1916): "America is nothing if it consists merely of each of us; it is something only if it consists of all of us, and it cannot consist of all of us unless our spirits are banded together in a common enterprise. That common enterprise is the enterprise of liberty and justice and right."

Two days before, in New York, the President had said: "In all the belligerent countries men without distinction of party have drawn together to accomplish a successful prosecution of the war. It is not a more difficult and a more desirable thing that all Americans should put partisan prepossessions aside and draw together for the successful prosecution of peace? I do not believe that America is going to enjoy that distinction."

Liberty and justice and right are to be made the cornerstone of peace, and America is to be the builder of an enduring temple in her honor. This democracy, founded on the proposition that all men are created free and equal, stands first for those things that lead toward the equalizing of opportunity. With like fervor the democracy stands against all things that point toward tyranny, despotism and vested right. America cannot be true to herself and prepare for war. She cannot live up to the ideals of her democracy on any other than a peace basis. Military and military aggression is a war against the hearts of the common people of the United States as the East is far from the West.

The man who urges the United States to prepare for war is false to all that is highest and finest in American life. Only he who desires to prepare for peace is a true American.

II.—Signboards That Point Toward War.

There are social differences and differences in ideals. Yes, and there are differences in race, in language and in religion. But here are no necessary causes of war. They are handy instruments for the development of hatred and fear.

Differences in race, nationality, language and religion do not make wars in the twentieth century. They help, but they are not at the bottom of the trouble.

There are political causes of war. The army and navy is a branch of the political government, and the army and navy want war.

Men get tired of uselessness. "Here

we are these many years," they complain, "doing nothing. We have been educated and equipped for war. We are tired of just showing off; we want the real thing." One of the great militarists of Europe is reported to have said regarding the army, "It is just like a big machine. It gets rusty if you do not use it."

Satan glories over idle hands. Swagging officers and gossiping army and navy circles are a constant menace to the peace of any nation.

Secret diplomacy is a fruitful cause of misunderstanding among nations. The statesmen write notes for weeks or perhaps for years; the tension between the countries grows greater; intrigue breeds rumor; people are white hot with expectancy, fear and uncertainty. Then a pin drops somewhere, and the nations are mobilizing.

If the records of the correspondence between the warring nations of Europe had been published before the war began instead of after it started there might have been no war. The negotiations between nations should be as open as the sessions of the legislatures or the courts. Daylight diplomacy would eliminate much bad feeling between the nations.

There are politicians who would make war to get votes. Such men are undoubtedly in a hopeless minority, yet the type exists, and in a grave crisis it must be reckoned with.

Still this is not the answer. None of these things will explain the causes of great wars like the present struggle in Europe. None of them will explain the equalizing of opportunity, which is carried on so effectively in the newspapers, schools, colleges and pulpits of the United States, or the campaign for intervention in Mexico that has been so persistently waged for years past.

Differences in ideals, race, language and religion help to develop hatred and religion help to develop hatred. The military caste, star chamber diplomacy and political ambition play their part in fostering the war spirit, but they are not the germs of war. They are merely the medium in which the germs develop.

III.—War Business.

War business or business war? There is nothing in a name, but there is a great deal in the connection that exists between modern war and modern business.

The modern war is a business proposition. The nation which prepares for war mobilizes munitions, materials, money and men. The experience of the past few months has shown that the hardest thing to get is munitions and the easiest thing is men.

Preparedness for war involves munition shops, woolen mills and stable credit before one regiment can be put in the field. War to-day is largely a combination of business organization and applied science. Men are incidental. They direct the war machines.

They are the "cannon fodder." They play almost the same role that machine hands play in an up to date factory.

Because of the business nature of up to date warfare, business thrives on a war just as a fire thrives on fuel. During peace times buyers are careful; they look the goods over and are slow in making up their minds. Peace times are times of calm and deliberation. War times are times of fever. Many of the war trade industries, iron, steel, rubber, copper, lead, zinc, petroleum, steel and other minerals, and like increases in the prices that manufacturers have been able to get for their products; the earnings of the munition factories have been phenomenal, as have the dividends paid by many of the war trade industries. Export trade is at the highest point in our history. The war in Europe is the greatest boon that American business has perhaps ever experienced.

America is enjoying real prosperity—phenomenal prosperity. To the American business world the war has been a godsend.

War a godsend! Down in the abyss from which America is drawing her countless millions there are other countless millions. Cannons crash and guns sputter. Commands, shouts, cries, curses, screams and groans fill the air. Broken bodies writhe in agony. Other bodies lie still. Families are torn forever asunder; homes are desolated; children are weeping for their fathers, wives for their husbands and mothers for their sons; villages lie in ashes and cities in ruins.

Resilience creeps from house to house, and famine whines at the door. Death in every hideous shape stalks through the war torn countries. Nations heap up mountains of debt that must crush joy out of Europe for fifty years.

Through the crevices and the yawning chasms of this frightful wreckage, tiny yellow rivulets and large yellow streams make their way, forming pools and little lakes in the hollows. Upon these we fling ourselves in an ecstasy of mad joy, warning all others back, and crying, "Profit! Profit! Mine! My very own!"

It is a commercial proposition with us. They are anxious to buy. We sell. Business is good. What is it to us whether they set the guns we make in trenches or put them up as monuments in the public squares? We made the guns; they bought them. They have what they wanted and we have the cash.

That is the point, exactly. War has become a matter of business. War profits are large profits. So much the better. We will make hay while the sun shines!

Those who benefit most immediately and most directly by the war business are the makers of the munitions of war. The munition makers, or more correctly the "war makers," depend for their livelihood on fear, hatred, preparedness, slaughter, desolation, the quivering flesh of nations as its food. There is more joy among the makers of munitions over one nation at war

than over fifty nations at peace. These scavengers of civilization make hell on earth and then fatten on the profits of their frightful business.

A group of Mexican bandits recently made a raid on a town in the United States, killed United States citizens and United States soldiers—killed them with rifles and bullets made in the United States. If war is declared tomorrow between Mexico and the United States these profit patriots would sell guns and munitions to the Mexicans as readily as they shipped rotten meat to the American soldiers during the Spanish-American war.

Their country is capital. Their religion is profit. Their God is gold. Yet they cry patriotism to a pathetically ignorant and patient citizenship which is beginning to wonder whether there is not a need for preparedness after all.

The munition makers are not the only business men who benefit by war. The steel business, the oil business, the coal business, the shoe business, the woolen business, the meat business, the copper business and general business pick up in war times. These businesses are not averse to war. Some of the men engaged in them have been frank enough to wish publicly that the war would last at least three years because "it would mean so much to American business." War for the sake of dividends! Prosperity built on murder and rapine!

This is not the end, however. England and Germany did not drop into war stride because the munition makers wanted contracts, or because war meant better business, but because competitive business is war.

IV.—The Economics of War.

Economic conflict has appeared in many forms. In the early dawn of history men were fighting for the fertile valleys of the world—the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris. Race after race swept down on these garden spots and drove out or enslaved those who held them. For ages history was a record of the campaigns waged by victorious hill tribes against the more cultured, richer and less vigorous valley tribes.

Then came the wars over trade routes and the struggle for the control of seagoing commerce. And under the dominion of an industrial system that is founded on the machine, the factory, the railroad, the bank and the retail store, comes the international competition for foreign markets.

The United States, despite its "mind your own business" traditions, is deeply involved in the struggle for foreign markets. Just now "South American trade" is our watchword.

Germany held the bulk of the South American trade before the war. England, Belgium and France had a share. Until recent years the business interests of the United States were so busy with the conquest of the continent and the development of American resources that they had no time to bother with outside sources of investment and profit. Now that the important resources of the world are being brought under private control, the business interests are turning eager eyes to Mexico, Cuba and Central and South America.

American business interests have entered the race to secure their share of the unexploited resources and the undeveloped trade of "backward" countries. They are hot on the trail, but they must meet competitors, and it is out of such competition that international misunderstandings frequently arise.

The European war, which began as a struggle between Serbia and Austria, developed immediately into a war between England and Germany. England and Germany are at war. Yet there is nothing in their past to explain the conflict.

England has fought battles with all of her principal allies. There has never been a war between England and Germany. Always the two nations have been friends. They have the same ancestors; the same traditions. They fought side by side at Waterloo. Despite their past relations England, Russia and France are now allies, and England and Germany are the chief antagonists in the war.

Why should a war begun in central Europe change so quickly into a war between two friendly nations? Who would have thought it? Who but the students of the competition between nations for the world's markets.

V.—The Wolf Struggle of Nations.

Two hundred years ago France was the leading country of the world. The English developed the factory system and pushed France out of first place. The supremacy of France ended in 1815, with the Napoleonic wars.

For a hundred years England has been the supreme industrial and commercial nation. It is only during the past forty years that Germany has come to the front. Her rise has been spectacular, however.

Armed with her industrial, social, educational and military efficiency, she has threatened the world supremacy of England in the fields of industry, commerce and finance. England knew and understood the danger; Germany saw her real foe. It was for this reason that England and Germany flew at one another's throats.

England was the first nation to develop the modern system of competitive factory industry. Her capitalists owned the resources and the machines. They hired workers, paid them less in wages than they created in product, and took the surplus (rent, interest, dividends, profits) for their own.

This surplus the capitalists could not consume, so they invested it in new mills and mines at home. These new investments created new floods of surplus. The capitalists then went abroad in search of investments. They found iron ore in Cuba and Chile, and oil in Mexico, Germany, English and American capitalists have invested their surplus there. There was hard feeling, friction, conflict. Who was to exploit the choice bits of the earth?

Patriotic Germany was ready to protect the investments of her capitalists. But England was willing to defend her capitalists. A shot sounded from somewhere and England and Germany were at war!

Now the American capitalists, who are in charge of a similar exploiting system, are actively engaged in their efforts to lay their hands on Mexico and South America. Germany and England are ready to defend their investments.

And then they go to sleep and rest. They may have neither smiled nor rested for many weeks.

"Smiling first, sleeping afterward," their temperature almost always quickly drops. Then they have turned the corner and their new march is toward life, while their old march has been toward death.

The love of fresh air which we implant in them makes life miserable for the managements of the French convalescent homes to which they go after they have been discharged by us. The men you send us are not less than terrible. We are informed by the management of one such home, "They are always opening windows and asking to have baths." We actually have received formal complaints of this.

"But the ambulance or hospital work is by no means the sum of the American effort among the French wounded, as I already have intimated. There is the field work done entirely by Americans and at American expense, for instance."

"With the organization of the ambulance (ten or twenty motor cars were put into the field, each driven by an American boy. We found so much appreciation of these American drivers expressed upon all sides, and now it is a greater matter than the ambulance itself. We now have more than a hundred cars at the front, in addition to about twenty-five devoted to the Paris service."

"These fearless young fellows have come to France animated by the highest motives of humanity, having been recruited from among those who would be in the first ranks of our own fighting forces were we, unhappily, at war."



Prof. Scott Nearing.

Especially were strong there before the war. They are busy now, and it is Uncle Sam's turn to take a hand. The war will end, no matter whether England or Germany wins, the victor again will turn her attention to Mexico and South America.

VI.—Defending American Ideals.

A chorus of protest sounds, "this preparedness is to defend American ideals, American homes and American lives against the invader who has invaded the United States."

No one has yet invaded the United States. They do their work with a real ethical impulse at the back of it, for the labor of the Sanitary Corps in this war is as dangerous as that of armed men on the firing line, while it lacks that stimulation of battle and excitement which unquestionably stirs the fighting men with weapons in their hands.

"At every big battle in Alsace, as well as in Flanders and in the neighborhood of Verdun, the American soldiers have been present, have been competent and have been appreciated. And always, wherever they may be, they are nearest to the firing line than any other sections. On the occasion of one attack the American officers and drivers went to within a few hundred yards of the contested summit, and carried wounded to the dressing stations straight from the trenches. Upon this and many other occasions our boys have been continually exposed to shell fire."

"Not all of them, either, have escaped unscathed. Young Hall, from Bar Harbor, was killed by a shell, and others have been wounded. Narrow escapes have been innumerable. Sixteen members of the corps have been given the Croix de Guerre."

"The section at Pont au Mousson lived in a village which for more than six months was continually under shell fire. Some members of this section had miraculous escapes."

"One night about 10 the boys were around a table in a small house after a hard day's work. Whether or not their light was visible from a commanding hill held by the Germans is not known, but a shell struck the house, fortunately exploding not quite in the room. It threw down the wall, brought down the ceiling and cast the

boys upon the floor, covering them with debris. "Naturally their first impulse was to seek safety in the cellar, but one of the boys, hearing other shells exploding in the street, suggested that there might be duty to be done there, and all went out to see what could be done. They found their own cook and orderly had managed the door and various members of the village had been shot. "And it was fortunate that they were plucky and did not go to the cellar, for a few moments afterward a large shell struck the house, dropping into the cellar and exploding, and blew the whole structure to pieces, leaving a narrow square of ground."

"Another section located in a place did heroic work, principally of the kind because certain peculiar conditions of the country made it difficult to approach the trenches during daylight. The boys found a refuge a few yards behind the trench, and when they stood up to cover night fire, they were in the darkness and the wounded who had been shot in the trench during the preceding day. When they were passed out to them they took them back to success."

"Their post not only was under shell fire but was within easy bullet range. When this section was sent to another post, another, not American, being substituted for it, the Colonel in command expressed his keenest regret."

"This was but reasonable, for when the newcomers were shown where our boys had hidden out before they fled, they refused to accept the situation, saying that the crazy Americans

States. Three worthy citizens who have looked under their beds for the Kaiser each night during the past eighteen months have not seen him once. The Japanese are thousands of miles from our shores. England and France have not attacked us. Why then this chorus of protest?

Why Lawrence? Why Paterson? Why Little Falls? Why West Virginia? Why Colorado? Why Youngstown, and the copper strike, and the clothing strikes, and the machinists' strikes?

Why this dissatisfaction? This unrest? This embryo revolution. Can it be that the noisome tenement rookeries, the squalid back alleys, the tolling chimneys, the exploited women, the long hours of high pressure work, and the grinding tyranny of unlimited industrial power have aroused the American people to revolt?

Note these biting phrases:

1. "Jobs uncertain; strikes, lay-offs and sickness."

2. "Promotion and advancement uncertain and slow."

3. "Favoritism and partiality are frequently shown."

4. "Pay small and limited while learning a trade."

5. "Same old, monotonous, tiresome grind every day."

6. "Stuffy, gloomy and uninteresting working place."

7. "When sick your pay stops and doctor's bill starts."

8. "If disabled or injured, you receive little or no pay."

9. "If you die, your family gets only what you have saved from your small wages."

10. "Little clear money; nearly all your pay goes for your living expenses."

11. "Old age, sickness, little money saved, your job goes to a younger and more active man."

Do you know where they came from? They were printed on a circular issued by Uncle Sam, to explain why young men should join the navy and work for \$17 a month and board.

The Kaiser did not do that to us. No, nor did the Mexicans, nor the Japanese. Those unspeakable conditions of American life, that may be met with in every great center of industry, commerce and finance, from New York to San Francisco, and from Chicago to New Orleans, are the product of that same system of exploitation that we are now patriotically preparing to defend in its policy of foreign aggression.

VII.—The Terms of Peace.

No thinking man can be patriotic to such a scheme of economic aggrandizement. No rational human being can be expected to rush forward to the defense of the gang that has already picked his pockets.

We are intelligent. We use our minds. We are for peace. We are willing to prepare for peace.

The means of preparedness are as obvious as they are unwelcome to the profit patriots.

We are against war. We think we do to destroy the germ of war. Let us here highly resolve that we will vote our energy, our thought, our lives to the work of destroying the germs of war. Joining hands, let us declare that:

1. War makers must go! Henceforth all munitions shall be made by the Government.

2. War profits must go! In case of war from this day forward every able-bodied man in the United States will be put on the Government payroll at \$17 a month, and rent, interest, dividends and profits will cease until the war is ended.

3. Economic exploitation must go! The land, the resources, the public utilities, the social tools must all be controlled and managed socially, not for profits, but for service.

These three steps we will take in order to destroy the germs of war. Then, having turned our backs on the old worn things of the past, we will begin the work of true preparedness for life, joy, hope and the future. In furtherance of this plan to make happy, noble human beings:

1. We will guarantee to every child the right to enough food, clothing and education to insure physical and mental health and growth.

2. We will guarantee to every child the right to enough food, clothing and education to insure physical and mental health and growth.

3. We will guarantee to each adult the full produce of his labor.

4. We will provide insurance against sickness, accidents, unemployment and death.

5. We will give pensions against old age to every man and woman who has done his share of the work of the world.

6. We will take for social purposes all social values, whether in resources, in franchises or in the product of any human activity.

7. And finally we will seek to guarantee equal opportunity to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness through a Government that restricts its activities to those necessary to provide for securing the common weal.

Brave Part Americans Are Playing in War Mercy Work by Helping France to Stanch Her Wounds

By EDWARD MARSHALL.

M AINED Frenchmen, sick Frenchmen, Frenchmen with racked nerves, blinded Frenchmen—all of these by melancholy scores, hundreds, even thousands, have been pouring into Paris to be met by—other Frenchmen? Not those of whom I write; to-day hundreds of them have been and are being met by crisp, able, enthusiastic self-sacrificing countrymen and women of your own and mine. Americans are doing splendid war mercy work in Paris, and thus are repaying some of the vast debt we owe to Lafayette, who helped us to win our independence when we were a little people with big aspirations, with more spirit than money and more resolves than men.

But it was the hospital that I saw first, and it is the hospital of which I first must write. It is not called a hospital, but in reference to the usual French term, "the American Ambulance."

At the head of it is Dr. Edmund L. Gros, who was born in San Francisco and first studied medicine there and went to Europe only intending to take post-graduate courses. Opportunities opened before him in Paris and he remained, becoming very eminent in France, but never losing anything of his American psychology. His beautiful wife is the daughter of Gen. Patton of Kewansville, Pa. In his buttonhole the ribbon of the Legion of Honor conveys a message of what France thinks of him.

His enthusiasm for the French in this great war is quite unbounded, as indeed is that of every American I know who has been with them and observed them.

"They have surprised the world," he said. "They have surprised themselves. Each Frenchman seems lost in almost childish admiration of the marvels of his neighbor's spirit and achievement, and it is true that he is never conscious that his neighbor, whom he has such reason to admire, admires him quite as much and with as perfectly good reason."

I believe the Germans truly have developed the ancestral traits bequeathed to them by Hun forebears; especially is this true of the Prussians, who have evolved into a terrible psychology which none who had known them in the pre-war days of civilization expected of them.

"The war has given to the observing American an opportunity for new interpretations of both peoples, and these of mine, I think, are accurate, for they have been formed at a time when both have been laboring under the most intense excitement, and therefore have been conducting themselves in that manner which really is natural

to them. We see both the Germans and the French now wholly off their guard."

"The German has been considered as a finely but firmly balanced individual, carefully and rather kindly hearted, efficient. The Frenchman has been regarded as an excitable and frequently uncontrollable person, without balance at time of crisis, no matter how unimportant might the crisis be."

"As we are talking one of the greatest crises of the war is under way, yet on the Boulevard last night, in the minds of the world, the highly developed idealists. Every Frenchman is an idealist. No matter how crude or lowly he may be, he nevertheless is an idealist. I almost said that the worst of Frenchmen have in them more idealism than the best men of most other races."

"What do you believe the French feeling toward America to be?" I asked.

"I have no doubt," said Dr. Gros, "that there has been resentment here toward some of the procedures of our Government, but this has been more than offset by the work of the American Ambulance, and other American effort to relieve suffering both in France and Belgium."

"America's outpoured generosity has immensely impressed even me. I must confess that even I did not dream what its magnitude would be. If it has impressed me, an American, how much more must it have impressed the French themselves, to whom it came as a complete and wonderful surprise."

"The American Ambulance has gained such a reputation that wounded Frenchmen when first picked up in the battlefield, if they are conscious, will ask their bearers to arrange things if they can so that they may be transferred, later, to this institution."

"Such wounded who obtain this to them great boon probably will find an American in charge of their removal at the railway stations, and the sufferer may very well have been conveyed to the train in an American motor car from the very field of battle or even borne off, under fire, perhaps, on the broad shoulders of an American."

"Many a French soldier is wearing on his person somewhere this minute as he fights a note, begging those who may find him, if he falls a victim to a shell or bullet, to do what can be done toward passing him along to the merciful and skilled hands of 'les Américains.' Hundreds of such letters have been found on wounded men and a tragically large number have been found on dead men."

"The ambulance is manned by expert American surgeons and physicians; the American girls and women who comprise most of its nursing staff are of the highest type of American womanhood. And aside from these facts, which insure the best attendance, we are told that the morale of the place is such that men believe they can get well quicker here than elsewhere."

"This is due, I think, to the spirit of disinterested service which pervades the institution. Those who work with us work for the love of it, although very few if any of them have any personal interest in the work other than a great desire to help suffering humanity."

"As a matter of fact the spirit of the institution is extraordinarily high, almost joyous. It is very stimulating. It makes wonderfully hard work possible without real fatigue. It is American. It has pulled many a poor fellow back from the grave."

"It is the spirit of the French scientists. We go in for all the sunshine we can give the patients. We believe in frequent bathing. Even serious cases, like those suffering from major fractures, are put into the tubs. We have devised a system which permits 80 per cent. of the wounded to have hot baths daily. Some of those who come to us, after having been in the trenches perhaps for months, arrive in a terrible condition.

"Coming tired and worn and dirty as well as wounded, we try to treat their weariness, their nerve fatigue and their filth as carefully as we treat their wounds. An astonishing look of almost incredulous relief comes to their faces when a quiet and good looking nurse gives them their first attention after they have come to us. I think the good looks and femininity have as much to do with it as anything. Terribly wounded men look up and smile."

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